

# *Review of* INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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AN ARCHITECT OF PEACE

CONTEMPORARY EGYPT

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CO-EXISTENCE AND NON-INTERVENTION

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THE NEW SALARY REGULATIONS

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANISATION

INTEGRATION AND ARMAMENT CONTROL

THE DUBROVNIK SUMMER FESTIVAL

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# Review of INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Edited by:  
THE EDITORIAL BOARD

Chief Editor:  
RADE VLKOV

Published by  
THE FEDERATION OF YUGOSLAV JOURNALISTS

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## OUR AGENCIES ABROAD FOR THE ENGLISH EDITION:

### U S A

Universal Distributors Co.  
52-54 West 14th Street

NEW YORK 11

World Events

EAST PALATKA — FLORIDA

### E N G L A N D

Lange Maxwell & Springer Ltd.  
41-45 Neal Street

LONDON W. C. 2

### I S R A E L

Ignjatović Flora  
Musrara 59/II

JERUSALEM

### C U B A

Agencia de publicaciones madiados  
O'Reilly 407

HABANA

Diamond News Co.  
San Martin 8

HABANA



# An Architect of Peace

FROM a remote continent, the turbulent scene of an unparalleled epic in our time, from the distant countries which saw the birth of the teachers of wisdom and the passionate ecstasy of the spirit which even opposes violence with love, Tito has brought us a message. In this message we recognized the voice of our people. This voice, this message the three peoples sent to the world through Tito, Nehru and U Nu, has moved millions of people belonging to various races, powers and creeds throughout the world. This is a message of peace and freedom, an appeal from the bottom of the heart for life in independence, peace and tolerance. Today this is more than a message, it is a movement, unnamed and unregistered, but the broadest and most human of all in the past few thousand years: more international than all those movements which have an official name and statute, as it embraces all people of goodwill, being a genuine call and necessity of this period which marks the beginning of a new atomic chapter in world history. Hence, it could not have been more timely.

Gloomy forebodings beset this century. The world is on the threshold of a new atomic age. Under its shadow the incubus of fear and uncertainty became a component part of the every day life of our generation, and stimulates the feeling of uneasiness and general dread of the future. But in spite of this burden which darkens the horizon of the 20th century, in spite of the passions and blunders which dominate the international scene and aggravate the existing antagonisms and hostilities, the power of man's will to live on his own land in peace with his neighbours, both near and remote, has moved the peoples of all continents, and shown them the common struggle which will lead mankind to a new phase of development. This road of peace is neither short nor easy. It is one of the most difficult paths which confronts mankind as it is strewn with obstacles and pitfalls at every step.

Tito, Nehru and U Nu indicated this road to mankind. The self sacrifices they and their peoples contribute to this broad movement are sufficient to revive man's faith in the victory of reason over violence, lawlessness and defeatism. The attractive power of their work, carried out during Tito's visit, makes them the true interpreters of the most human

aspirations of man's soul and dignity. The principles they proclaimed in joint declarations give all the human sense to the struggle and ideas which dominate their lives and policy.

Precise, clear and resolute, these ideas are new in their approach to the regulation of international relations: they are new both in substance and intention, by their passionate love of man, their concern for his progress and his needs. They do not know hatred or discrimination. Contrary to the fatal theories which threaten the very subsistence of human society and its most valuable achievements, they rise as a beacon of human love, which is indispensable for the long-suffering and conflicting humanity.

These ideas do not oppose the fatherlands of the Yugoslav, Burmese and Indian people to those of other peoples. They do not preach the formation of any new international sects, groups or blocs. They cannot be limited at all by geographic boundaries, because mankind is one and cannot advance along the road of progress under the pressure of bloc psychology and thermonuclear threats: because in the present structure of democracy the interest of one nation is the interest of all: because the human spirit is universal and opposes all which is contrary to conscience and moral feeling.

These ideas are also a condemnation of false civilization based on pride and offensive distrust of man, the ignoring of the dignity and the legitimate right of every people to internal specificity and its own development. A condemnation of blind force, hypocritical idealism on preventive war and all those tendencies which, being incompatible with the natural laws of development, lead to retrogression, and the chaotic disintegration of mankind.

For this reason, the ideas of active coexistence became one of the loftiest affirmations of democratic development. They are also the precursors of world peace.

The peoples of Yugoslavia are proud that Tito made these ideas known to the whole world in their name and upon their mandate. Determined to follow him uncompromisingly on this road, they welcomed with the most sincere wishes their President, who devoted all the capacities of his genius to the idea of socialism, peace and human progress.







## T i t o' s

... I transmit to the peoples of Yugoslavia the greetings of the countries we visited, where we met with a welcome that cannot be described by words and the peoples of which cherish warm sympathies towards our country.

It is not difficult to explain our trip to these distant countries if our policy of peace is borne in mind. We went to these countries in response to the invitation extended by their leaders, which we gladly accepted as we knew that they were no less aware of the necessity to establish the closest possible links between countries with identical views on international problems, and strive to unite their forces, with the aim of preserving world peace and ensuring their development...

### INDIA AND BURMA ARE OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES

... You have surely already read a lot about the way we have been received in these countries. We have been received as welcome guests, not only as guests, but as close friends, owing to our identical aspirations, the similar sufferings and ordeals we experienced in the past, and because their history as well as ours is full of great and hard days. We were received as welcome allies in the great struggle for the preservation of peace. The warm welcome we encountered at every step, not only among the leaders but also among the ordinary people in the towns and villages, everywhere we went, revealed the genuine and sincere cordial sympathies felt towards our country, and we were therefore unusually proud to represent our socialist Yugoslavia in these countries...

At the present uncertain times it is truly fortunate that there are countries, countries of great peoples, which share our views on international problems. It is also no less fortunate that we succeeded in establishing contact with them, that we have decided to march together and do all in our power to allay the ever growing passions and point to another road instead of that preached by some malevolent people who want to solve international problems through armaments and superior military power. No sacrifice or effort is too great for such a policy of peace as can bring better and happier days to mankind. I believe that our trip was fully crowned by success in the preservation of peace. Some who bear us ill will say that we are tourist enthusiasts but they are against peaceful cooperation, against coexistence, against active coexistence among peoples. These are the people who seek to thwart the progressive and peace-loving forces, so as to be able to subject the world to the greatest catastrophe in history. This peace-loving policy has gained Yugoslavia immense sympathies not only in India and Burma, but also in all countries who succeeded in winning their freedom and independence after the long and difficult years of colonial domination. These countries need peace as much as we do, and I think there are few peoples in the world today who would think otherwise, and not share the view that the primary task of all honest, honorable and peaceful men is to devote their utmost efforts to the preservation of the most precious of blessings — world peace.

The objection has also been voiced that Yugoslavia has now probably deviated from the line of foreign policy followed hitherto presumably under foreign influence, for instance from the East. Yugoslavia has not deviated from the principles of her foreign policy. Nothing has changed in our policy. Our policy never differed from the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence among peoples which is pursued today. We speak today as we have done six, seven and eight years ago. Nothing has been changed...

### YUGOSLAVIA'S POLICY HAS NOT CHANGED

Our foreign policy has not changed. Our foreign policy would only change if we renounced the struggle for peace, and joined one of the blocs, as the latter lead to the deterioration of the international situation and increase the danger of war. Our policy would only change if our vigilance and our efforts for the preservation of our independence and peaceful development would cease. Our policy would change if we would betray the foreign policy of friendship and cooperation with the Western countries pursued so far, if we would turn to the other side and join the Eastern bloc. There are no such changes in our foreign policy. I can say on this occasion: let no one fear that we



# Words

will abandon our persistent endeavours for the improvement of the international situation and the preservation of peace, and let no one hope that we will join any bloc, thus reinforcing it and giving it better chances in case of conflict. The world today does not need armed conflicts, as they represent the greatest catastrophe and constitute the greatest peril for the subsistence of mankind.

Instead of seeking ways for the achievement of a peaceful agreement, the armament race proceeds with growing intensity but we will not join the ranks of those who believe that international problems can only be settled by armed conflict. International problems cannot be settled in this way which will only give rise to new and even more difficult problems and, worst of all, mankind would be exposed to a horrible catastrophe if conflict is not avoided.

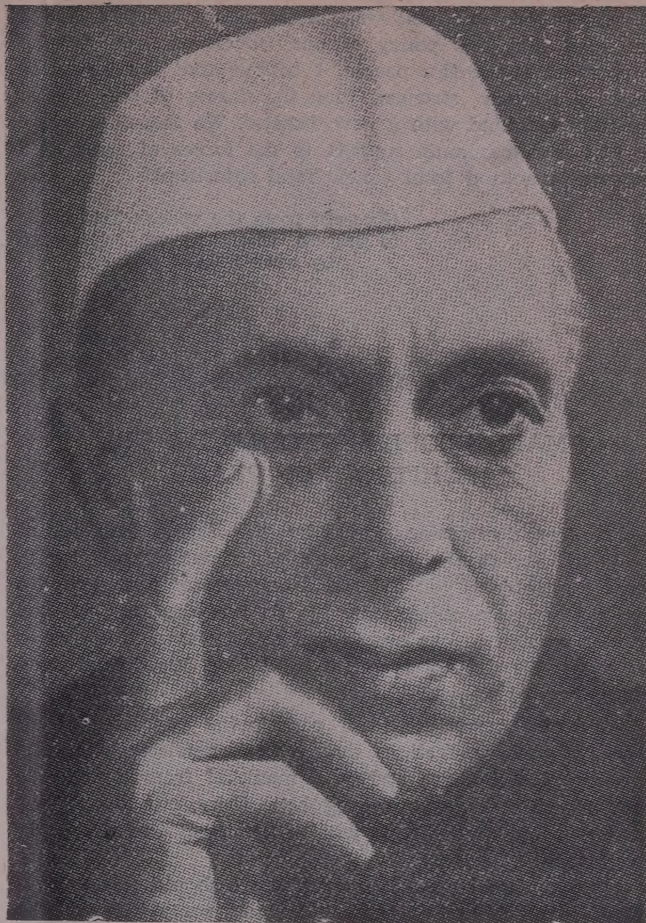
Our policy must have its deep roots in the aspirations of our people to avoid such disasters as those we endured in the recent past. It is easy to see that we are speaking the truth, that we are not making any manoeuvres to outwit anyone. We say openly to everyone: we are like this and wish to be your friends if you are willing to be ours, we do not wish to gain the friendship of one side at the expense of the other, we want to be friends with all countries, those on the West and those in the East. I think this is the only proper road if we no longer wish mankind to fear the danger of a new war...

(Excerpts from the speech Tito made in Rijeka before over 120,000 persons).

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## FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY

For the first time in history, in recent history, these countries invited the leaders of a European country to visit them. Why is that so, and what prompted them to invite us? Because they know our views on colonial problems, because they know how glad we are that they have acquired their freedom and independence, because they are well aware that we come there as sincere friends, and not as people who would seek to gain some profit for themselves in Asia if possible; it is not always the case that a country in Europe and elsewhere takes such a view of these questions as our country. They know all this, and therefore invited us, and that was of course the reason why they have received us so warmly and cordially.



## THE FORCES OF PEACE ARE STRONGER THAN THE FORCES OF WAR

...The idea of coexistence is not a barren phrase which failed to find fertile soil in the world. The slogan and idea of peaceful and active coexistence between countries and peoples has shown clearly that there is no other solution in the world today if we wish to avoid a new disaster. Men can cooperate, but they must accept the fact that every people is entitled to live alone on its soil and manage its affairs as it wishes and that no one is entitled to interfere with its internal affairs. It is evident, however, that there are people and leaders in the world who still believe they can interfere in the internal affairs of others, either directly or indirectly. We were all glad to see that in the countries we visited, and I am sure also in other Asian countries, they believe that the time is past when others could interfere in the internal life of individual peoples. I can therefore say now that it is high time people should realize it would be better to stick to their own affairs and problems, and refrain from meddling in the internal affairs of other countries. The peoples of these countries are wholly capable of regulating their life as they wish. I therefore think that in the interest of coexistence both direct and indirect interference in the internal affairs of other people should cease once for all. But if one always wishes to dominate, coexistence is impossible and one day a major catastrophe will be inevitable.

It is on this problem, the problem of preservation of peace which is linked with many other issues, that our



country insists and will wage a persistent struggle, and I am glad that this policy of our Government enjoys the support of our entire people. I believe that the forces of peace are much stronger than the forces of war which threaten mankind with a new disaster. We therefore strive to give our maximum support to the forces of peace and preserve mankind from a new fatal catastrophe...

(Excerpt from the speech Tito made in Zagreb, where he was welcomed by over 200,000 people).

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## SMALL PEOPLES SHOULD BE THE ARCHITECTS OF PEACE

... The declaration signed by the Prime Minister of India and me, showed you the subject of our talks. But still, some may object, you did not conclude any pact, you did not assume, say, obligations. We do not need a pact, our pact is written in our hearts and minds as we know what we want. We did not create a third bloc. We do not need blocs, least of all a third bloc.

We also agreed that all peaceloving peoples and all men with human feelings should work persistently on the preservation of peace and save mankind from a new catastrophe. We discussed this problem there, our views were unanimous and our efforts will be persistent and tireless in the future.

Perhaps some would object that we should engage ourselves so much in this respect. I would reply that we, the small peoples, who have experienced so many ordeals and sufferings, should be the architects of peace, work on its strengthening, and foster peaceful cooperation and coexistence among peoples. Today the world is divided into two blocs and it is fortunate that, apart from these blocs, there is a vast number of peoples and countries who consider that this is not a correct policy, as it only leads to the further broadening of the rift, and that nothing is being done to bring about a rapprochement, to enable negotiations and a peaceful settlement of problems which are certainly not worth the risk of bloodshed and the greatest disaster in the history of mankind.

A small country as Yugoslavia which went through such ordeals cannot be indifferent to world events. We whom you elected to discharge our functions must devote our maximum efforts to the preservation of peace and cannot be disinterested as regards the events in other parts of the world. The world is an indivisible entity and every major conflict would draw the entire world into its vortex, in which the small peoples would fare very badly. It is for this reason that the small peoples and all progressive peoples must unite in their aspirations and prevail over those malignant powers who preach that world problems should be settled by force if they cannot be peacefully solved. Nothing can be settled by force today, nor by the hydrogen and atom bomb. Such solutions can only bring destruction, they are no solution. One would really have to be crazy to believe in the possibility that one or the other bloc could

win by the use of the atom or hydrogen bomb without being destroyed itself in the conflict and that mankind would not be annihilated in this catastrophe...

## EVERY OVERTURE TOWARDS PACIFICATION SHOULD BE ACCEPTED

... Needless to say the international situation is constantly changing. Tension is now greater, now lesser. Right now, for instance, world tension has increased. What are we to do now? Should we slacken our efforts to ease this tension? On the contrary we must increase them still further! And this entirely precludes the possibility that we should ever join one of the existing blocs, because as long as blocs exist, and as long as new methods for the solution of international problems are not sought, the danger will always be great.

Some may say: „This is all very well, but what is then your position, are you not neutrals in this case”? Far from it. We are most intensely active, we say openly: do not run blindly into a new danger. We speak and indicate the way which should be adopted by countries and nations to obviate that which everyone wishes least of all: a new war. Unfortunately our voice is not always heard where it should.

However, I think that the number of persons who share our views is increasing everyday, not only in countries with identical conceptions of foreign policy but also in the countries which belong to the existing blocs. The peoples in these countries also think that the worst one can do is to pursue a policy of antagonistic blocs and try to settle international problems by resorting to force. No unsolved international problem today is worth the risk of a local war. Not one.

As for the present situation I do not think that pessimistic previsions should be made in view of the changes which occurred in a certain country, without being aware at the same time that these very prognostications contribute to the aggravation of the situation. This does not depend only on one side but on both. If both sides do all that is possible to aggravate relations, then of course those relations must inevitably deteriorate steadily. Another way should be chosen. It is a mistake today, and this is a rule in the present foreign policy of many countries, to regard the peace loving overtures and gestures of a country as a sign of weakness, and thus aggravate relations still further. And when such an attitude provokes the inevitable reaction, it is said: You see, we were right when we said that there is nothing to be done with them. I must criticize such an attitude as it is not correct and such a practice should be abandoned. Every overture leading to pacification should be accepted, one should take it into consideration and evaluate it, and not always consider it a manoeuvre. Of course, many things are done with a view to achieving a certain objective, but then there is no greater objective than the preservation of peace. This should always be borne in mind...

(Excerpt from the speech Tito made in Belgrade at the impressive welcome given him by about 300,000 citizens).



# CONTEMPORARY EGYPT

*Hussein ROUCHDY*

Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Egypt in Belgrade

THE advent of the Revolution of 23d July 1952 brought into the limelight three cardinal tasks which have since dominated the efforts of the leaders of Egypt's new regime.

The first task was how to improve the standard of living of the people, the majority of whom depend on agriculture for their livelihood. To achieve this end they were at once faced with an overwhelming problem which poses two questions:

1) how to raise the standard of living where desert sands hamper the expansion of lands fit for cultivation. 2) how to feed a population which is rapidly increasing at a rate of 350,000 per annum. To corroborate this it is useful to mention that in 1798 when Napoleon landed in Egypt, the population then was less than 7 million living on 3 million feddans (a feddan is 4200 square meters), while today there are 23 millions living on just over 6 million feddans! The solution to this urgent problem is by attempting to produce more out of every available feddan, to increase the cultivated area through major irrigation and reclamation schemes and to industrialize the country but not at the expense of agriculture. In this connection Deputy Premier wing commander Gamal Salem, who supervises over all economics and development policy said, "Egypt is not overpopulated. She is only underdeveloped."

But before proceeding with projects harnessing the waters of the Nile — the life stream of Egypt — in order to increase arable land, the leaders of the revolution set out from the beginning to free the peasants from the exploitation of big landowners on whom they depended entirely for their very existence.

This was effected through the promulgation of the Agrarian land reform which can be rightly described as the "cornerstone" of the whole revolutionary movement. The gist of this reform is to fix the maximum limit of landownership to 200 feddans and to allow each farmer five feddans but not less than two. The land acquired by the farmers is not given free but it is to be paid over a period of thirty years with an annual interest of 3%. Landowners who are in possession of over two hundred feddans are allowed to sell the requisitioned land to small owners. Otherwise they receive an indemnity as compensation for their requisitioned land in the form of State bonds which are redeemable with an interest of 3% per annum. The main principle underlying this law is that the amount of land thus acquired by the farmer should guarantee for him a minimum standard of living carefully studied and calculated. Moreover the money received from the sale of land will seek investment in other fields, particularly in industry.

In order to expand the land under cultivation to meet the rapidly increasing population two main projects have been decided upon, namely the Asswan High Dam and the Asswan Hydroelectric scheme. I shall deal only with the former because it is a most ambitious project and will have far reaching influence on Egypt's agricultural and industrial development. It has already excited the interest of internationally known consulting engineers and experts. I shall not delve into any details about the technical aspects of

the scheme but suffice it to mention certain interesting details. The approximate cost of the construction of this dam is estimated at 200 million pounds. Preliminary studies, trials and experiments have already cost £ 350,000. It will take ten years to build. The economic advantages of this dam can, according to the reports of experts, be summed up as follows: 1) it will be possible to increase arable acreage by two million feddans, 2) generation of electric current will be increased, 3) national revenue will rise by 150 million pounds a year and 4) State revenue will increase annually by 18 million pounds.

It is noteworthy to mention that since the days of the Pharaohs, Egypt has been essentially an agricultural country. But to depend on one crop economy has its disadvantage. For years agriculture and industry in Egypt revolved around the growing and weaving of the long staple cotton which is the finest in the world. While the population kept rapidly increasing, little or nothing was done to increase agricultural production. At the same time there was almost no developed industry, with the result that there was a declining standard of living. It was only by industrialization that Egypt could hope to reverse this trend. This is the first conviction of the new regime. Hence the important projects which I have just mentioned. In order to increase the area of land under cultivation and increase electric power for the new industries which are steadily growing up in the country. In order to encourage foreign capital to seek investment in the different schemes and in new industries, the Government has relaxed regulations on foreigners in Egyptian industries. Machinery may be imported duty free and new industries are not taxed for the first seven years.

The second task was connected with the internal political scene. Since the uprising of the people soon after the end of World War I calling for the independence of Egypt, three main parties dominated the political scene. They all claimed as their chief objective to liberate Egypt from the British, but they never indicated by what means, nor did they have a definite political program to pursue. But on one point they all agreed, and that was to come to office at any cost. Governments at that period did not depend on the confidence entrusted in them by Parliament but depended solely on whether they were in favour of the Palace. In fact, from 1922 till 1952, about 30 years of parliamentary life, not once did Parliament vote one single cabinet out of office. Many a time did we even witness a minority in Parliament form a cabinet, its only support was the palace!

This was the picture when the leaders of the revolution took over the government. They at once appealed to the patriotism of all political parties to discard their old differences, to close their ranks and purge their rank and file from corrupt elements and to unite for the one supreme cause, the liberation of Egypt. All those appeals fell on deaf ears and a campaign began, to undermine the authority of the new regime, having recourse to their old practices of spreading unfounded rumours and printing false news in their press. Consequently a decree was issued by which all parties were dissolved and the corrupt politicians were brought before special courts to be tried for their ill deeds. They were thus publicly exposed, and received their



just punishment. But there was a more serious party, "The Moslem Brotherhood", which was tolerated at first because it was believed that it was rendering a good service to the masses by guiding them on the right path according to the teachings of the Koran. The methods of that party were more subtle and dominated the minds of the masses for its evil motives. But no sooner was it found out that its leaders had sinister designs under the guise of religion that one of its members attempted to assassinate Premier Gamal Abdel Nasser on October 26 of last year. The veil which masked its real aim was thus lifted and from the trials that followed we saw the true colour of that "Brotherhood". It was nothing but a sinister group of criminals who tried to overthrow the government by force through its secret organization. Thereupon it was dissolved by decree and its bank deposits, which ran into hundreds of thousands of pounds, were confiscated and earmarked for more useful purposes.

The third task was to come to an agreement with the United Kingdom over the two outstanding issues, namely the evacuation of British troops from the Suez Canal Base and the Sudan question.

It is a well known political axiom that one should always negotiate from strength. It was obvious to everyone that the political atmosphere was heavy with political intrigues, corruption and party manoeuvres. Negotiations failed as they were bound to under such circumstances. The leaders of the revolution when they took over the Government set about to settle these two pending issues in order to concentrate their endeavours on the other most urgent economic and social problems facing the country. They presented a united front to the British with the whole nation solid behind them. They scored at once a resounding success by resolving the Sudan question on which many a negotiation in the past was wrecked because of the difficult and intricate nature of the problem. Agreement was reached on February 12, 1953 granting the Sudan self-government leading to self-determination. Self-determination is to be exercised in a free and natural atmosphere after a transitional period of full self-government not exceeding three years. An electoral commission supervised the election which took place in December 1953. The Governor General of the Sudan remains the Supreme Constitutional authority in the Sudan. In regard to external affairs he will be directly responsible to the British and Egyptian governments. A constitutional assembly will decide the future of the Sudan either by "choosing to unite the Sudan with Egypt in any form", or "choosing complete independence". I should like to state in this connection that Egypt has no interest in the Sudan but to see that its people are on the road of progress. There are so many links in history and culture with the Sudan. Never have two countries been so interdependent as Egypt and the Sudan. If the Sudan chooses complete independence at the end of the three years of self government, Egypt will be the first to respect such independence and will strive to have the most cordial relations.

After protracted negotiations agreement in principle was reached with the British in July 1954 and final agreement was initiated on 19 October 1954. The main provisions of the agreement are: 1) the British troops are to be withdrawn within a period of twenty months from the date of agreement i.e. 19 October; 2) the treaty of alliance of 1936 is terminated; 3) in the event of an attack by an outside power on a party signatory to the joint defence pact between Arab League States or on Turkey, Egypt will afford the United Kingdom such facilities to place the Suez Canal base on a war footing; 4) this agreement runs for seven years.

It is gratifying to state that the withdrawal of British troops is continuing steadily and according to agreed arrangements, and that the relations between both countries are improving in an atmosphere of friendly understanding and collaboration.

With these two main problems resolved and out of the way, Egypt's foreign policy could be said to be primarily based on two considerations of special importance. First the importance of her strategic position and second Egypt's place in the Arab world.

Few countries stand in as great a need for a lasting peace as Egypt because, by virtue of its geographic situation at the cross roads of three continents and of all means of communication whether by land, sea or air, it is well nigh impossible for her to escape the effect of a world conflict. The experience of the two world wars is a clear illustration of this truth. The cooperation of Egypt was of

fundamental importance in both wars. That is why any scheme for the defence of the Middle East without the active participation of Egypt is doomed, I believe, to failure. If there is ever to be a regional arrangement for the Middle East countries, it must come from within and not from outside. Egypt already rejected in 1951 the project for Middle East Defence Pact in which the USA, United Kingdom, France and Turkey were to participate. It was ill timed and ill conceived because at that time Egypt had not yet come to agreement with Great Britain over the Suez Canal base. The proposed Turco-Iraqi Defence Pact comes also at an unpropitious moment, because the Arab States hold the West responsible for the existing state of affairs in Palestine. Ever since the advent of the new regime Egypt's leaders have repeatedly expressed the view that the close collaboration of the Arab States and the assertion of their solidarity as an independent force in the international field of politics — a force which pursues an independent foreign policy free from external influence — is of prime importance for the cause of the Arab world.

Egypt firmly believes moreover that the cause of the Arabs, who produce about 70% of the oil output in the world and whose lands dominate one of the most strategic positions in the world, can best be served only by close collaboration both in the Arab League and in the Arab Collective Defence Security Pact. This could be only attained by the strengthening of the League and by the implementation of the pact.

The proposed Turco-Iraqi pact has, therefore, caused grave dissension among the Arab States and is threatening the very existence of the Arab League and the Arab Collective Security Pact. Egypt firmly believes that to join a pact with the West is tantamount to accepting the status quo in Palestine. The Arab public opinion will then ask what will be the fate of the one million Arab refugees and what of the U.N. resolutions left unheeded till now by Israel? May we hope that wiser counsel will prevail in order to save that strategically important part of the world from serious division and instability.

The meeting of the two leaders of Yugoslavia and Egypt aboard the "Galeb" has aroused a great and lively interest in both our countries and the whole world. This is not to be wondered at because of the outstanding personality of the two statesmen who have captured the imagination of the world by their heroic deeds for their countries. Both exhibited great courage and determination to liberate their peoples. Both believe that the maintenance of peace could be only attained outside the two blocks which are already dividing a harassed world. Both have given tangible proof of their contribution to relax world tension, each in his sphere — one by settling the Trieste question and the other by the agreement over the Suez Canal Base. Both leaders are firm believers in the right of peoples for self-determination as well as for the respect of the full sovereignty and independence of nations. This affinity for deeds, purpose, and ideals contribute to make this meeting of special interest. As is already shown by the latest events, world peace hinges on developments on the continent of Asia. For this very reason the knowledge gained on the spot by Marshal Tito from his contacts with the leading statesmen of India and Burma, as well as his understanding of the problems, aspirations and psychology of these peoples, will no doubt serve to give President Nasser a clear picture of prevailing conditions on a continent whose peoples have been exploited for many centuries and are now demanding their full freedom both politically and economically. It is not only strategical considerations that should be uppermost in the minds of statesmen but most important is the understanding of the psychology of the peoples.

I have therefore great hopes that this meeting will bear fruitful results both in fostering the existing relations between Egypt and Yugoslavia and in the promotion of world peace and security. The strategic importance of both Egypt and Yugoslavia is too obvious to be neglected in any scheme for world peace and for this very reason both Marshal Tito and President Nasser are fully aware of this important factor and, fortunately, they are pursuing a course of complete understanding and close collaboration.

Egypt is indeed looking forward to welcome Marshal Tito when he sets foot on her soil next autumn — an occasion when both the people and the government will be able to demonstrate to him and to the people of Yugoslavia their friendship, understanding and cooperation for the mutual welfare of both countries.



## THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF INDIA

IN accordance with the terminology which is used when India's political life is considered, the Indian National Congress is treated as a political party. In doing so account is taken of the fact that the Congress has all the basic characteristics of a political party, such as a statute and a programme; that it accepts people into its membership only after they fulfil certain conditions and undertake definite obligations; and that it has an independent attitude in relation to other parties. Yet, although no one disputes these characteristics of the Congress, it is not rarely that one hears its leaders say that the Congress is more than one party in the mosaic of Indian political life, that it is a national movement, and that, as such, it has a much greater political weight and significance. In our opinion, it would be inappropriate to reduce a discussion about the Indian National Congress to the seeking of elaborate answers to the conventional questions which are asked when it is desired to determine the social and political physiognomy of a political party. In essence, considering India's general social and political development, it is not at all easy to draw a rigid line between some of the parties there, particularly if we view them through their proclaimed objectives, or through the social and class status of their members.

When the Indian National Congress was organized in 1885 no political parties existed in that enslaved colony of the British Empire. However, this non-existence of organized political groups cannot be said to have been a proof that the national consciousness of the Indian people was not ripening. No one must forget that the forming of the Congress was preceded by the unsuccessful insurrection of 1857, which, despite its unorganized character and its feudal leadership, left a deep trace in the heart of the people as a mutiny against foreign mastery. The British tried to set up in India a definite political organization, so that all demands of the masses would be dealt with legally, through talks on various reforms with the Empire. The core of the newly formed organization was the Indian intellectual elite, which was educated in England, where it acquainted itself with the political life reserved for the metropolis.

At first, for a number of years, the aim of the Congress was to „advance by constitutional means the interests and welfare of the peoples of the British Empire” (1899), and then to develop the „colonial type of self-government” (1908). In the social and economic fields, these political aims were accompanied by general formulations, such as care for the cultural and economic development of the country, but without any plans for achieving such objectives.

The turning point in the life of the Congress took place when Mahatma Gandhi entered the political scene of India. Thus ended the first phase in the development of the National Congress, during which the situation was characterized mostly by appeals to the colonial masters to apply their home principles of democracy and parliamentarism also to India and her people. Although they achieved incontestable results in the awakening of the national consciousness, the political leaders of the National Congress acted most successfully as political instructors, i.e. political teachers of the masses. The scope of their influence on the Indian masses was, however, limited by his methods of struggle and by the relatively undeveloped awareness of the people about their own role in the struggle for liberation. Gandhi approached the people in a direct way. He identified himself with the legions of politically, socially and economically enslaved peasants. The aims of the struggle he put forward in simple language understood by the people, and they did not neglect any of the important questions relating to the essential problems of India. It was through the voice of Gandhi that the Indian people demanded full self-government, or „swaraj” as they call it. The demand for national liberation was not satisfied by the adoption of a formal statute for India, and it spread to the

economic field, where the masses organized a boycott of foreign manufactures, which had choked the national crafts. „Khadi”, the homespun cotton garments of the Indian peasantry, became the symbol of the struggle against enslavement. Khadi, in fact, was not only an economic sanction, but also a political weapon. Gandhi gave the Congress a more definite role in the social field. He pointed a sharp finger at the cancer wound on the Indian body, i.e. the traditional system of castes, which was responsible for the inhuman attitude taken towards millions of people called „untouchable”.

Under Gandhi's leadership the social basis of the Congress was expanded, and its fighting strength thereby increased. At that time the greatest emphasis was laid on the struggle for national liberation, for it was evident to everybody that colonialism was the cause of India's political, social and economic backwardness. As far as the methods of struggle were concerned, Gandhi introduced the practice of „non-violent non-cooperation”. Non-violence was the principle which had earlier been approved by the programme and the statute of the Congress, but it was applied only in the parliamentary and other legal forms of struggle. Here, too, Gandhi took advantage of the strength of the masses as the basic weapon in the non-violent struggle he introduced. However paradoxically the expression non-violent struggle may sound, Gandhi made it intelligible to the Indian people, for it was in accord with the centuries old ethical principles of India. The essence of this method of struggle lied in the moral strength and justification of those who fight for a right cause. In accordance with the traditional usage in India, war services were reserved as an obligation for the special caste of Kshatriyas, but Gandhi recruited his army of fighters, who renounced violence, mostly among the peasants; but it was joined by intellectuals and other patriotic elements as well. In 1917 Gandhi tested his method of non-violent non-cooperation for the first time. The reason for that was an enforced collection of taxes after a bad harvest. The British authorities were forced to give way and write off the taxes. The well known march of millions of people, which was motivated by the shortage of salt in 1930, was another example of the success of his method. It was not easy to maintain the non-violent character of this struggle against British rule. In spite of all Gandhi's efforts it happened that the people answered violence by violence. Gandhi used all his power and authority to prevent such violence, and to achieve that end he sometimes stopped action altogether. It was shown that the basic prerequisite for the success of his method was to put forward demands which were approved and supported by broad sections of the community.

After Gandhi and his associates joined the leadership of the Congress in 1920, the Congress emphasized in its programme the need for a union of all Indian people, regardless of their religious differences. This was of special importance, because the British were then supporting the strengthening of a special Moslem organization — the Moslem League, with the aim of breaking up the unity of the liberation movement. Up to the final liberation in 1947, when the country was divided on India and Pakistan, a political game was in progress, which operated, on the one hand, with the National Congress, and on the other, with the Moslem League. The struggle against communalism, i.e. against the attempts to break up the unity along religious lines or caste differences, remained to this day one of the most important objectives of the Congress, for there are such tendencies even today.

At the beginning of 1930 the Congress demanded full independence and its programme thoroughly elaborated various social and economic questions, such as the development of home industry, the setting up of a union of peasants and workers, the care for the development of nation-



nal culture and language, the improvement of the position of women, health and social education and the like.

In 1935 the Indian Constitution was adopted, and in 1936 the first broader elections were held; they were of considerable importance, although suffrage rights were restricted. At these elections the Congress was opposed by a variety of political parties, among which the Moslem League was the strongest. However, the Congress won in a majority of constituencies, whereby, in the eyes of the colonial rule, it qualified for the forming of provincial governments. Although it did not give up its demand for independence, the Congress agreed to cooperate with the colonial authorities by taking part in the government. That period did not last long, it is true, but the Congress profited by it, because it gained valuable experience. It was a period of developing a special, one might say a parallel form of government, since the Congress committees worked out a series of problems, preparing themselves to take over the government, and learning, through their work in provincial governments, how to govern a country. Thus, the Congress Planning Commission, headed by Nehru, was formed as early as 1938. This Commission did a good deal of work, which later, when the Congress took over the government was of considerable importance in paving the way for the introduction of planned economy in a newly liberated country.

The cooperation of the Congress ministries with the colonial government, personified in the higher British bureaucracy headed by the Viceroy, could not last, because the political situation in the country was so acute that it was no longer possible to maintain good relations with the British occupiers. This was the period when the Second World War broke out, which made the British restrict the political freedoms in so strategically important an area for the general war effort of the British Empire.

The structure of the Congress has been changing since 1930. At first it gathered in its ranks people with different political views, social interests and opinions about the social order in free India. However, the basic political aim — the liberation of the country, united and temporarily reconciled these different elements, so that the Congress became a specific party, which, at the same time, was really a national movement. The internal differences led in 1934 to the creation of a special socialist party within the Congress, and a separate wing came into being under the leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose. These two groups then defended more radical views, social and political, than those proclaimed in the broadly formulated programme of the Congress as a whole. In 1934 the Congress was also joined by the Communist Party, which until then had been acting independently for a whole decade. The Communists joined the Congress for two reasons, i.e. because their party was declared illegal in 1934, and because all patriotic elements had by then joined the struggle for national liberation under the banner of the Congress. The Moslem League, owing to its plans to create an independent Moslem state, did not want to come closer to the Congress, although Gandhi was doing everything he could to reconcile the Congress and the League.

The beginning of the Second World War marked a turning point, not only in the relations between the Congress and the colonial authorities, but also in the internal life of the Congress itself. Chandra Bose withdrew from the Congress and formed a separate party, the Forward Bloc, which first took roots in Bengal, and then, owing to its radical methods of struggle, which included the forming of special armed units, increased in popularity throughout India. The Communist Party also withdrew from the Congress, because the latter advocated unconditional support to Great Britain. At that time it was difficult to determine the attitude of the Congress. Its very leaders were undecided on their attitude, seeing that the Congress had in principle proclaimed its anti-fascist policy. However, the anti-fascist character of Britain's role in Second World War was not adequately expressed in India. What the British showed to their Indian subjects was terror and pressure. Yet, Britain could not ignore either the deteriorating situation in India or the demand of the Indian people for independence, as a condition for their participation in the general anti-fascist struggle. The Congress maintained that only a free India would be capable of making full use of her potential in manpower and material, and so make her contribution to the efforts of the peace-loving people of the world. Britain, however, attempted to negotiate, but the

negotiations were reduced to mere promises to strengthen the home rule after the war, and until then India was asked to accept unacceptable conditions in the name of the British war effort.

In 1942 the Congress issued its well known resolution: "Quit India". In this resolution the Congress stated that, unless this condition was fulfilled, it would not take the historical responsibility for defending India from the fascist threat, which was drawing close to the country's borders from Japan. The reaction of the colonial authorities was swift. The Congress was declared illegal; all its leaders imprisoned, and a wave of terror swept India in which about 300,000 people suffered. In that way, the liberation movement was deprived of its leadership. But it did not break up, for it was the will of the people, who carried the banner of struggle in all provinces and villages of the country.

With the end of the war the colonial government was forced to acknowledge the moral and political power of the Congress, which it drew from the masses. Although negotiations for the determination of the mode of government in India continued, Britain grasped that it would no longer be possible to keep India subjugated by force. In 1946 elections were held, out of which the Congress emerged as a direct representative of the majority of the Indian people; the only other force worth mentioning was the Moslem League, while all other parties were swept off the political map. However, the situation in 1946 showed that the Congress had failed in one respect, i.e. in preventing the polarization of political religiously divided areas. The poles of political attraction were the Congress, which won 91% of the possible seats, and the Moslem League, which secured majority in 87% of the Moslem constituencies. The election proclamation, issued by the Congress in December 1945, presented to the Indian people detailed principles and a programme, which were to be the principles and the programme of the Congress government in liberated India. Space does not permit us here to dwell on details, and we shall only mention that the basic provisions of that programme were included in the first Constitution of free India.

The proclamation, in as far as the social and economic matters were concerned, expressed that the prosperity and welfare of the country must be sought through cooperation of all sections of the community. It stated that a planned economy, the State control over the means of production and even public ownership of certain large and key industries, as well as the nationalization of transport and mineral resources, were the necessary prerequisites for the advancement of the country. Reforms in agriculture and the abolition of large land estates were proposed in accordance with the principle that the land belongs to those who till it. The proclamation also underlined that large hydro and other power plants must be built so as to facilitate the development of industry and agriculture. Furthermore, the Congress expressed the wish to develop friendly relations with all countries in the world, particularly with India's neighbours in Southeast Asia and in the Far East. Thus the principle of peaceful cooperation in the international field was linked with the philosophical conception of non-violence as the leading principle in India's life.

Although the proclamation put down, in general outlines, the progressive aims of the Congress, it must not be forgotten that the members of the Congress were not all in agreement as to what methods should be used in achieving them. The differences within the Congress, which were caused by members who, due to their social status, had to defend different views, increased as the time when the Congress was to take over the government of the country approached. A large number of its members came from the ranks of the bourgeoisie, who wanted to secure their own positions and protect their interests. This fact must be borne in mind when the role of the Congress after the liberation of the country is considered.

With the death of Gandhi in 1948, there disappeared the attractive power and authority which held the different elements together. In that year the socialist wing withdrew from the Congress and entered India's political life as an independent party. The Socialists explained this step by saying that, owing to the prevailing conditions and to the social structure of the Congress, the Congress Government was not capable of giving a guarantee that the development of the country would progress along a socialist road. The progressive forces within the Congress, headed by Nehru, were weakened by the withdrawal of the So-



cialists, for many prominent and well known associates of Gandhi then joined the newly created Socialist Party. The process of differentiating forces continued, and in 1951 a prominent member of the Congress, Kripalani, formed his own National Peasant Party. This, too, was a sign of the disapproval of the practical policy pursued by the Congress Government. There were changes in the Congress itself, and they came to expression in resolutions adopted at various meetings and conferences, which differed in the formulation of aims. At one time the aim was to „organize a society without classes and castes”; later on, the proclaimed aim was to „create a state of prosperity”; and, finally, at the annual conference of the Congress, in February 1955, the definition of the programme in the social and economic fields reads: „In order to realize the aims of the Congress as stated in the Statute of the Party, and to contribute to the aims set by the Constitution, the economic development of the country should be planned in harmony with the needs to develop society on a socialist model, in which the chief means of production would be owned or controlled by the public, and the national wealth distributed in accordance with the principles of equality”.

It is natural that this resolution on the development of society on a socialist model was discussed by the Indian public as a significant phase in the development of the ideological conceptions of the Congress and its leaders. It is noteworthy that at this conference a number of other resolutions were passed, which elaborated in detail the methods by which it was desired to achieve the aims set in the social and economic fields. One of them stresses the idea of setting up special organs of government which would, in a number of ways, contribute to the democratic participation of the masses in the development of the country. This resolution was passed unanimously; it reaffirmed the strong position of Nehru, who is at the head of the progressive forces in the Congress. Yet, no one should lose sight of the fact that, both in the Congress and in the government, there are forces which cannot accept without resistance the increasing role of the State sector in economy. Although India is an underdeveloped country, which, due to

her historical development, has not a strong capitalist class, there are several magnates who hold powerful positions in the economy of the country, and who exert considerable influence on public opinion through the papers behind which they stand.

In the process of applying a socialist policy, it will be necessary to mobilize the masses and secure their support for the Congress and Government. The situation puts the political parties before a significant question: whether and how to support the action which, by its basic conceptions, represents a progressive move and a prerequisite for the development of the country. It was shown at the 1951 elections that the people of India demand more effective measures in the settling of social and economic problems. At these elections something less than 50% of the electors came to the polls, and the Congress received 45% of the votes cast. That, in essence, meant that the Indian people are no longer satisfied with the general formulations and declarations, no matter how progressive they may seem, and that they demand effective steps and more visible results. The parties which by their strength take second and third places, grouped themselves under the name of Left Opposition. The fact that independent candidates secured about 20% of the votes shows that a large number of people voted for individuals, who do not represent any organized force, but who are locally popular. Regardless of the election machinery, due to which the Congress today has 74% of the seats in the Parliament and 69% in the provincial assemblies, the above analysis is of importance when the role of the Indian National Congress in the political and social fields is considered. The unique position held by Nehru, who is the leading factor in India's political life, and who is trusted by the people, is of decisive importance for the role of the Congress.

Undoubtedly, the Congress is the greatest guarantee for the stability of the present political alignment in India. It has at its disposal the means of the State administration and the material resources of the country, and it is therefore of great significance that it has declared itself for a socialist programme.

# T E X T I L

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# OPINIONS ON ACTUAL PROBLEMS

Rade VLKOV

## CO-EXISTENCE AND THE PRINCIPLE OF NON INTERVENTION

CO-EXISTENCE is not just a complex word which „descriptively expresses that which until recently was called peace”, as the editorial of the newspaper „Gazette de Lausanne” recently called it. Peace is the starting point, the necessary prerequisite and the aim of co-existence, but in our times it has a much more complex content. Co-existence, like peace, represents first of all the negation of war, (which in the era of the hydrogen bomb threatens the human race with biological extinction), but it also goes a step further; it is today the only practical way to achieve world wide prosperity among the community of nations. While, for example, the coincidence of peace — as a state of international relations which characterizes the absence of war — and cold war is possible, the simultaneous acceptance of co-existence and the methods of the „cold war” is a contradiction in terms. That is why advocates of co-existence are not satisfied with the present state of international affairs, although for the first time for several generations our planet is free from war, because the object is not only to preserve our precious and bitterly fought for peace, but also to create conditions for the exclusion of those negative factors which are the dominant components not only of war, but of all the other aspects of oppression in international relations, which divide countries into those which are developed and those which are underdeveloped, and of the remaining manifestations of lack of equality, backwardness and poverty.

Bearing this in mind, there is no doubt that we should be mistaken if we were to declare that all those who are against atomic war are supporters of co-existence. Those who today have taken a stand against a new war only because they see in it a war in which there would be neither victors nor vanquished, are very far from the acceptance of the principle of co-existence; their policy often rejects its principle quite positively. Here arises a question which seems delicate: are those who today long to preserve the present situation without war really for peace in the world, when it is known that this situation, one block set against another, is a latent source of war? Those people, consciously or unconsciously, with good or bad intentions, are not the final arbiter. Mankind cannot accept the idea that today's peace be only a breathing space, a new interval between two conflicts. The favourable conditions of the present situation must be used for the liquidation of tendencies which constantly threaten peace.

Intervention in the internal affairs of other countries is a very old phenomenon in international relations. In bygone days, it manifested itself in various forms, always under different guise, but always the same in essence. The strong partner — or partners — always found a suitable „reason” or „motive” for interfering in the internal affairs of the weaker partner, or partners. Perhaps no single aspect of oppression was so hypocritical in assigning itself a definite mission, or suitable humanitarian or democratic task, than this interference in the internal affairs of other na-

tions. In the last century, a group of kings who went down in history under the name of the Holy Alliance, tried from religious motives to justify both their interference in the internal affairs of other countries, and their planned action to throttle the European revolutionary movement. The great colonial powers threw into the field the term „civilizing mission” whenever they were building up their hunting grounds in Asia or Africa. The founders and apologists of Nazism justified their aggressive action as the mission. A few years ago, the combined pressure of the Eastern European countries on Yugoslavia was explained by ideological motives, which did not differ in essence from those which, on the other side of the world, both in terms of ideology and distance, led to the tragic evolution of the situation in Guatemala. And today also, it is common to see democratic expressions conceal non-democratic actions.

There are plenty of precedents. We have mentioned the most outstanding ones, but they are not the only ones. Interference in the internal affairs of other countries can be found at every stage; both yesterday and today, especially in the politics of the great powers.

Just as interference in the internal affairs of other countries becomes, as time goes on, a more and more favourite instrument of the policy of oppression, so more and more the principle of non-intervention and noninterference becomes a feature of the programme of the progressive and democratic forces in the battle for victory over inequality in international relations. Almost at the same time when the principle of national sovereignty prevailed over the earlier non-democratic principle, non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries has appeared in international relations as a new and valuable factor. Its appearance is perfectly logical and normal; if a nation is the master of its own sovereignty, then she is the only one who can decide on questions which concern its own life and future. Any attempt from outside to affect decisions which only the people of a given country can make on themselves, by threat of force or concealed force, represents an act directed against that sovereignty, and conflicts today with the generally accepted principle of sovereignty. Therefore the political instrument of non-intervention takes its place in the list of great achievements which, when viewed in the light of yesterday, are the most authentic evidence of the progress of freedom of thought. Alongside the categorical condemnation of aggression, and the general acceptance of the great truth that peace, co-operation and the equality of nations, the principle of sovereignty and the right of self-determination, are the most precious values in the community of nations, it is stated in the United Nations Charter that the principle of non-interference is a duty and an obligation which every country should and must respect.

The situation in the world today, in relation to that which existed two or three years ago, undoubtedly represents a step forward; the efforts of many countries to re-



duce the tension and improve international relations have recorded their first significant success. At the same time, however, it is evident that there still exist vestiges of the cold war, and that the great powers are, with a heavy heart, relinquishing some instruments of policy the undemocratic characteristics of which are well known. We are still living in armed peace, but a world of armed blocks and intolerance is not a suitable ground for the building up of peace and for the progress of nations. Today's status quo means peace, but is also a lasting threat to peace. Therefore we must guard and change this status quo, and we must use this peace for the elimination of ideas which make it unstable and temporary.

This is in fact the fundamental thought of the recent joint declaration made by Tito and Nehru in New Delhi; the future of the world lies in active, creative co-existence. Tito and Nehru said: „The President of the Republic and the President of the Government wish to express as their firm opinion that the relations between their two countries and governments are founded, and must be founded in the future on the principles of international recognition of sovereignty, independence and integrity, non-aggression, equality, mutual respect and non-intervention in the affairs

of other countries, both for themselves and for the rest of the world, and of the achievement of the means for peaceful co-existence". It would be difficult to express more briefly a programme for the battle for a just world in which democracy and the absence of oppression will not be only a phrase, but also a living reality. Tito and Nehru are known to be the most prominent advocates of these principles; their greatness has grown out of the battle of their countries for a better social order, and the victory of democratic methods in international relations. Therefore the Delhi declaration, which stresses the factor of non-interference, amongst other things, as a significant element of peaceful co-existence, is not an abstract political idea, but is reflected in its general acceptance in the domestic and foreign policies of these two friendly countries.

Therefore those other countries which sincerely stand for the peace — and especially those who hold to the democratic tradition — should abide by these principles in their every-day international affairs. The latest propaganda against our country shows that this, unfortunately, is not yet accepted by certain circles. Plainly speaking, it is a clear example of interference in the internal affairs of another country.

Dr. Jovan ĐORĐEVIĆ

## SOCIALISM AND HUMANISM

1. SOCIALISM does not arise on its own basis. It is brought forth out of the womb of an ancient capitalist society and it represents that form of society in which socialism is being formed and developed. Therefore socialism does not mean in any way the realization of an idyl in which man should become at once wholly free and thus conclude his human history. Socialism does not stand for the bringing of an accomplished humanism into the society.

Being a social order in which the mentioned fundamental propositions are secured, that is in which they are being realized, socialism, however, is by its mere existence a historical form of humanism, the realization of humanism. Being a stage in the realization of humanism, socialism is the realization of man, it is indeed the way to a full humanization of social conditions, to a humanization of man and society.

This proposition results from the basis and essence of socialism as a historical form of human society. It is a constituent part of scientific socialism, Marxism as theory, inspiration and principle of action of the working class, of the socialist forces of that society. Scientific socialism is essentially nothing else but the social science concerning man in society and his necessary way to become really a human being. That being of whom Gorki said: Man, how proudly does it sound! Even the historical roots of Marxism themselves point to it. Marxism is a continuation of the humanistic tendencies of the Renaissance and of the philosophical humanism of the 17th and 18th centuries. Shown by Marxism the ways to follow and the means to use, socialism accepts and endeavours to develop the great humanistic idea expressed by Descartes in the sixth part of his *Discourse on Method*: „... to make of us masters and possessors of Nature". By accepting and by developing the English classical political economy, the dialectics of Hegel, the materialism and socialism of progressive English and French thinkers, scientific socialism rejects every opportunism and dogmatism, these elementary and timed attitudes towards man and his destiny. Assisted by science, inspired by humanity and by confidence in man's faculties, and convinced of the necessity of modifying and improving him scientific socialism comes to be finally reduced to what has been called by French humanists „the Science of Man". Marx expressed it clearly and in a decisive way. In a letter

dated December 28, 1846 addressed to Anenkov, Marx has written: „The collective history of men is nothing else but a history of their individual development".

This opinion of the young philosopher Marx remained unaltered, his whole scientific work and his political activity have been permeated by it. Man is the fundamental value of socialism, and man with his dignity is the fundamental and unaltered principle of scientific socialism, Marxism. The prime objective and problem of socialism is man and his human nature. Hegel pretended that the whole of the history of mankind is merely the history of freedom. This philosophy of history is only partially true. The history of mankind is to Marxism a history of the economic development of social, political and ideological antagonisms and class-struggles in which man plays not only a decisive role, but is himself there at stake, going through different phases of enslavement and liberation in order to become finally freed from every exterior enslavement. Socialism is a phase in which man's freedom can by no means be a complete and universal one, but nevertheless it is inevitably necessary to start altering the main basic means of such enslavement, to liberate man's personality, man's free individual life.

2. — There have been two principal alienations or restrictions of man's personality in the preceding history, so that the latter, from the standpoint of humanism, has been actually a history of barbarism.

The first of them is the economical alienation based on both private and public property which subjects man with his main value and essence, labour, to others. By alienating the man, the creator of all values, from the means of production, the private and other property (public or collective property) reduce the man to a means, not to personality, lead to a full exploitation of his labour and to a subjection of his personality to exterior powers as well as to the anarchy which is inherent to every social order based on the right of possession, i. e. on the right of a minority to exploit, as if it were its own, the labour of a majority of producers.

Socialism, i. e., an order in which the means of production are owned by the community, as well as the self-government of producers, is the first act of restitution of the means of production to the producers who are thus being raised from the state of an object to that of a subject,



from slavery to mastery, from humiliation to human dignity, from insecurity to the security of labour, from misery to the beginning of the right to decide freely on the distribution of the surplus of labour, and to an effective sharing in getting a fixed share of the surplus of labour.

The self-government of producers based on public ownership of the means of production is not only a new collective and individual democratic political right (retrospectively) but also a new human individual humanistic right of the producers (prospectively). The beginning of humanization arises in consequence from the establishment of this right. It is an essential element of socialism and socialist humanism as well. Marx has written in a clear and decisive way about it: „The material private property which is immediately felt, is a materially sensible expression of the alienation of human life... The real abolition of private property (of the capitalist type) as appropriating of human life, is a real abolition of every alienation, it is a return of man to his human nature”.

These words of Marx refer only to private property which prevailed in the capitalist society of his time. They also refer, however, to all forms of public and collective property, because they are but new forms of private property, the forms of collectivization of that property. This is clear because these forms of property do not restore property immediately to society and they do not abolish, but even reinforce to a certain degree the alienation of man from the means of production, the exploitation and the inequality of rights of the producers.

Therefore the restitution of the means of production to the producers by virtue of their rights to manage these means which have been either socialized or are about to be socialized, marks the beginning of the process of abolition of human alienation, the beginning of the era of humanism. The self-government of producers is a substantial element of socialist humanism, because it is on this basis that man begins to become man, to feel like a man, and to realize man's personal human dignity and his individual freedom. This process of humanization has begun in our country. It is, however, doubly limited, because the material conditions of socialism and socialism itself are still limited processes of liberation of man and labour. The very right of the producers to self-government is only at its beginnings in our country, because the share of the means available to the economic organizations, especially the means allotted for the remuneration of workers, is not great, while the means for public funds, particularly for federative funds, must be considerable and of a prevalent importance. On the other side, the very use of this new right has to be immediately controlled and limited, because the general expenditure funds are not considerable, and the consciousness of different groups of producers in enterprises is concerned not only by the struggle for existence but also by individualistic and selfish motives which cannot be removed even in more favourable circumstances nor in case of a greater effect of production than we are able to realize it now.

Socialism in general and especially its initial and undeveloped material form in the present phase of development of material forces of Yugoslavia, brings forth as an inner law of its own a certain contradiction and dissonance between the interests and rights of the producers and those of society, between the so-called general and particular interests. In our social system this contradiction has not been abolished nor has it been abandoned to a fortuitous solution. Our constitution has proclaimed therefore two important principles. According to the first, the highest representative bodies of the country, the highest organs of executive power (Houses of Representatives and People's Committees) enact laws and basic political acts as well as economic plans through which the „general interest” comes to be secured. According to the second, these representative bodies have been doubly democratized. Their political Houses are elected directly by all citizens, the voters being entitled to revoke a deputy or a member of Committee. In all the representative bodies (save, for the moment, Municipal People's Committees) there exist already Councils of Producers which are representative bodies of all the producers of material values. Having equal rights the Councils of Producers take part with political Houses in the making of all the important decisions concerning economy, labour and Social Insurance. By taking part in securing the „general interest”, respectively in esta-

blishing public funds, the producers thus determine that share of social production which has remained at their disposal. This harmony between the general and the particular interests has not been imposed, it has not been dictated by the State, it started being democratized in the sense that taking away is not equivalent to alienation, that public funds can after all be used not to back privileges and exploitation, but as a means of „broadening, enriching and stimulating the vital functions of the producers”.

The concentration of production upon the satisfaction of the needs of the people is the main characteristic and tendency of socialism. The realization of this tendency, however, does not depend only upon the desires of socialist forces but also upon the degree of material development of productive forces, as well as upon a series of other exterior and interior factors which influence the conditions and problems of a concrete socialist order. Therefore it is a subject of political economy, conditioned by a series of interior and foreign political circumstances. For socialism, two presuppositions are essential. The first and principal presupposition is the real value and the influence of self-government of the producers in economical organizations and in the Council of Producers. This pre-supposition comes to be more and more secured in practice too. The second pre-supposition consists in the abolition and reduction of the privileges of bureaucracy and social parasitism, as well as in physical and moral estimation of what the present generations have to contribute to the development of material forces. There is no doubt that all the generations of working men cannot contribute equally to it nor can they be equally burdened. The first generations fight the most decisive battles on different sides, including the battle against their own desires and their need for a better life. This is an imposing and hard battle in which several generations consciously accept privations for the benefit of the coming generations, of their own children and of their posterity. Socialism, however, requires also a fixed distribution of the burden among different generations. At first, heroic tendencies are prevailing in socialism, but they cannot go beyond the biological limit or the objective measure of necessary humanism, which is due, even in the beginning of socialism, to every generation of producers, of workers.

3. — The second principal alienation and restriction of man is reflected in the field of politics, viz. in the State and law. The ancient State has been essentially an institution for the alienation of man's political personality, even when it recognized him certain political rights. The political form in which socialism can be realized, and is realized, is the State. On account of class-opposition and other social contradictions, of the repression of every kind of backwardness and any remnants of the former society in social conditions, ideas, thoughts and feelings of the people, socialism still has to alienate from itself, according to Marx, „social forces in form of political power”. The freedom of man, as the principal element of his human dignity and human personality comes to be more and more restricted by this fact. This restriction, however, is conditioned and must be temporary. The main problems of socialism are thus connected with the concepts of State and the rights of man.

Socialism both engenders and requires democracy. As a social system it cannot be established or developed without democratism, that is without a new, more and more effective democratism. The very social ownership of the means of production, the self-government of producers, and a production directed so as to satisfy the needs of man, show us an increase of democracy and an enlargement of its social basis. The self-government of producers means a conquest of economic sovereignty. Simultaneously, the social property and the rights to self-government of producers yield a material basis for the establishment of a fuller use of the personal, political, social and economic rights of the citizens.

Freedom, however, cannot exist without democracy as a political mechanism. Democracy hinders the rise and strengthening of bureaucracy and of those forces which could disturb and prevent social property from being used by society, and the self-government of producers from becoming a means by which they actually manage the means of production.

Therefore, democracy finds a basis for its own realization, while socialism finds in democracy the condition for its own existence and development.



# North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

## GENERAL SURVEY OF THE CREATION, ORGANISATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF NATO

### VI.

#### RELATIONS TOWARDS THE UN ORGANISATION

THE principles and objectives of the NATO as expressed in the Treaty correspond to the principles and objectives of the UN Charter. The NATO Treaty also explicitly invokes these principles in its text.

"The contracting parties", it is said in the first passage of the introductory provisions, "confirm their faith in the objectives and principles of the UN Charter and their wish to live in peace with all peoples and all Governments".

They have assumed the obligation, it is further stated in Art. 1, to settle all international disputes which might arise between them in a peaceful manner, as foreseen by the UN Charter and in such a way as would not threaten international peace, security and justice, and refrain from threats, violence and the use of force in their international relations in any way which is contrary to the objectives of the UN.

The obligation of the contracting parties to mutual assistance in case of armed aggression foreseen by Art. 5 is legally in accordance with Art. 51 of the UN Charter, which recognizes the right to individual and collective self defence pending appropriate measures by the Security Council for the restoration of peace and security.

Finally, the contracting parties also stated in Art. 7, that the NATO does not influence in any way whatever — nor will it be thus construed —, the rights and obligations deriving from the Charter of those contracting parties who are also UN members, nor the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the preservation of world peace and security.

It cannot therefore be said that there exist any legal contradiction or discrepancy whatever between the NATO and the UN Charter as regards the objectives, actions or obligations of the member countries. In this respect the NATO could be considered as a special international defence organisation, founded within the framework of the UN objectives and principles.

However, the political significance and political role of the NATO in the field of international peace and security, its possibilities and functions by far exceed the functions, influence and scope of any other specific international organisation, envisioned by the Charter within its general system of collective security. It is another question whether such a system has been realized in practice and whether its functioning is possible under the present conditions, but one of the explicit objectives and fundamental tasks of the UN was that it should become the exponent of the world system of collective security which could eventually include regional and other defence organisations under the supervision of the Security Council. However, the Security Council is the exponent of the policy of world peace security. The NATO was organised on this basis and it is also mainly treated as such. However, by remaining within the legal framework of the UN, by adopting its principles and provisions, the NATO succeeded in expanding its competence and functions in international relations to such a degree that it gradually brought about a radical change in its essence, the former being difficult to coordinate with the internal organisational order of the UN, although there are no obvious violations of its legal framework. As a strong international organisation which encompasses the political, economic, and military cooperation of a large number of countries, including also the leading countries in world policy, the NATO also acquired certain objectives of its own, which, it is considered, may and may not be identical with the aims of the UN. On the other hand, also those objectives and principles which are

common to both may have a different aspect in the NATO or in the UN.

In view of the specific character acquired by the NATO as an international group the fact that all NATO members are, with negligible exceptions also members of the UN, is of far greater significance than in the case of a simple military alliance as that referred to in Art. 51 of the Charter. The fact that the big powers who play a major role and wield a strong influence in the UN occupy more or less the same position in the NATO as well, is decisive for the relationship of the NATO towards the UN. Such a position of the same influential member countries in both organisations makes it possible for NATO policy to influence that of the UN.

This means that the NATO is integrated through its members into the entire machinery of the UN and therefore invested, both where general problems of security or other international problems are concerned, with a decisive influence on the attitude of the UN, since it is in a position to paralyze those UN actions which would be contrary to NATO interests. Consequently the question does not arise as to whether the NATO as an international organisation is in accordance with the UN, but what is the actual international relationship of the NATO as an international organisation, and the UN.

In this respect the NATO can be considered from two standpoints: as a separate international organisation, and as an instrument of collective security.

It has been shown already in the previous instalments of this survey that the NATO is not only a defence organisation within the narrow framework of legitimate self-defence as foreseen by Art. 51 of the UN Charter, but that it is an international coalition with definite political and ideological pretensions. The NATO, regardless of its different evolutive stages according to the development of the international situation, represents an ideological bloc, in which members with related political and social conceptions are united, and which also set the strengthening of the government system based on these conceptions as an objective of their association.

The UN Charter, on the contrary, does not provide any basis for ideological groupings within its framework. The principle of ideological struggle within its organisation, although the latter could not be avoided, is alien to its fundamental postulates on international cooperation and the mutual relations of its members. In the UN Charter international relations are based on the principle of coexistence and peaceful cooperation which precludes every possibility of ideological, political and other discrimination among its members. Consequently it would not be possible to affirm that the existence of ideological blocs in the UN is in accordance with the Charter. The integration of such blocs through joint membership into the policy of the UN organs can impede the successful realization of general international cooperation foreseen by the Charter.

Consequently, to affirm that the NATO is congruent in all its aspects with the principles of the UN would be tantamount to the allegation that the system of blocs and policy of ideological grouping is in accordance with the principles of the UN which would obviously be absurd.

As to the problem of security and the preservation of peace, the UN Charter provides the basis for the organisation of a general and objective system of collective security which operates according to the instructions and under the control of the Security Council and the General Assembly. This system is divided in two phases. One is preventive, with the purpose of ensuring peaceful solutions of possible disputes and misunderstandings, and the second is repressive, in case peace is threatened, violated,



or if aggression is committed. The UN system of collective security also represents a permanent instrument of international sanctions for the purpose of protecting international order, peace, and security.

Apart from this general system of collective security as a component part of the international system sponsored by the UN, the Charter also foresees the creation of regional agreements which can be concluded by individual members, and which, in addition to other aims, can also foresee the preservation of peace and security in a specific regional area as an object of joint action. The function of regional agreements as regards the preservation of peace and security has been placed under the control of the Security Council.

And finally the Charter recognizes the right of each member to individual or collective self-defence in case of armed aggression, but only until the Security Council takes the necessary steps for the restoration of peace and industrial security.

The development of international relations after World War II caused major distortions in the system of collective security. It was not possible to ensure the efficiency of the general system envisaged along these lines, the chief exponent of which is the Security Council due to the institution of the veto in the Security Council. In view of the fact that all actions relating to matters of security are vested in the Security Council, this system would not be able to function properly in case one of the permanent members of the Council were opposed to the adoption of certain measures. So far the experience of the Security Council corroborates this assumption. It is also considered in this connection that the intervention of the Security Council in Korea was only possible because the Soviet delegate did not attend the sessions of the Council at the time the war broke out. That is why the system of UN collective security did not enjoy sufficient confidence in a period of maximum international tension.

For similar reasons it was also impossible to develop a system of regional agreements under the auspices of the UN as foreseen by Chapter VIII of the Charter, as the actions of regional agreements on matters of security are also subjected to a certain extent to the control of the Security Council.

Therefore the way indicated by Art. 51 of the Charter, which foresees defence alliances based on the principle of legitimate self-defence proved the most practical for the joint preservation of security. Thus, what should only have

been a supplement in the system of collective security became its only effective form.

The NATO also benefited by this form provided by Art. 51 of the Charter. The advocates of the NATO as a defence organisation within the UN framework stressed that the NATO represents an instrument of collective security within the scope of the UN, but is exempt from the veto.

In matter of fact, by its organisation, which is not carried out according to precise Treaty provisions, which are altogether lacking in the text of the Treaty, but according to subsequent decisions of the Atlantic Council, the NATO is an elaborate system of collective security which developed independently from the UN security system. In this respect, as will be seen when dealing with its organisation, the NATO by far exceeded the scope of Art. 51 of the Charter, which only stated that every member is entitled to self-defence, either by itself or jointly with other members in case of armed aggression, and until the Security Council undertakes appropriate measures for the restoration of peace and security. Extending this right to collective self-defence according to the logic of mutual association, the NATO created an independent and complete system, narrower, but parallel with the UN system. This system has acquired such force and such an independent mechanism that it would be illusory and unrealistic, by invoking legal provisions, to contend that it is subject to UN control.

This specific position of the NATO in the UN is particularly obvious where the problem of security is concerned, namely in the functions of the Security Council. As known, the Security Council includes three NATO countries with the power of veto among its permanent members. This means, in other words, that the Security Council cannot make any decisions to which the NATO would be opposed concerning problems of interest to the latter, in which these countries also occupy a leading position. In Art. 5, paragraph II, as well as in Art. 7, the NATO recognizes the primary competence of the Security Council in matters of peace and security. It is on the basis of these provisions that the conclusion on the congruence of the UN Charter and the NATO on the problem of security can be drawn. But such a conclusion is not certain. The accumulation of functions and influence of the three permanent members of the Security Council in that body and the NATO, practically resulted in the fact that the primary responsibility for peace and security which the NATO bears towards the Security Council became a purely legal and theoretical category.

J ŽIVIC

## INTEGRATION AND ARMAMENT CONTROL IN THE WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION

A CONFERENCE of experts of the Western European Union countries is in progress behind closed doors in Paris. The objective of this conference is to study the problems involved by the establishment of a body which would gradually carry out the standardization and integration of Union armaments. The initiative was taken by the former French Prime Minister Mendes-France at the London Conference which was devoted to the quest for an alternative solution to the EDC. However these problems followed their own evolutive course.

Since the problem of the German contribution and participation acquired such prominence in connection with the form and structure of West European military integration, the problem of organizing an effective system of control of German rearmament constantly required such a solution as would prove acceptable to all partners.

Needless to say, of all the Western partners, France was the most concerned by this problem and considered the subjection of German armaments to an extensive control machinery a basic pre-condition for the consent to German rearmament. This control would cover all phases in the production of weapons and equipment and would not be limited merely to the control of prohibited weapons and the supervision of the armament stocks permitted, but would also be entitled to determine in advance the types and quantities of armaments to be produced, thus making it impossible to exceed the material basis foreseen for specific military effectives.

As it was desired to restore the German armed forces within the framework of a collective Western action, and in view of the fact that the power and influence of the Federal Republic increased steadily, every unilateral control of its armament would point to discrimination and would



be contrary to the principle of co-equal participation in institutions of military integration demanded by the Bonn Government. A solution could therefore be reached only by extending the system of controls to all countries members of such institutions. This made the advantage offered by controlled production all the more obvious, not only from the standpoint of security and the prevention of an excessive and dangerous growth of the German armed forces, but also the advantages stemming from the economy of standardized joint production based on joint programmes, pooled raw materials and financial resources (certain experiences in the standardization and coordination of armament plans have already been yielded by the NATO).

Moreover, the French also contended of late that „controlled rearmament in Western Europe could mark a step further towards world disarmament” by determining the maximum of armed forces and uniting the national armament industries of Western Europe.

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Already the EDC Treaty stipulated that the competence of Union Commissariat includes drafting and implementation of joint armament programmes, and the equipment and supply of armed forces to be integrated. The entire production of armaments, their import and export, as well as technical research can only proceed on the basis of authorisations issued by this Commissariat. However, the provision that certain types of armaments such as atomic, bacteriological and chemical weapons, guided missiles, larger warships and certain types of military planes, will not be produced „in strategically vulnerable zones” except in case of unanimous consent by the Council of Ministers, is also extremely significant as it actually applied only to the territory of the Federal Republic, this being concealed by the reference to strategic considerations in order to preserve the principle of equal rights.

The endeavours of the Western powers to solve the problems arising from German rearmament within the Western system by the expansion and supplementation of the Brussels Pact showed that the problem of organized effective controls over the production of armaments and war materials is confronted by major difficulties in two respects. In the first place the question arose which organisation should discharge the functions of control, the NATO, or the Western Union, and second, with what concrete machinery and what powers would the control organs be invested. While a solution to the first controversial issue was found by adopting the French conception that armament control would be one of the fundamental tasks of the Brussels Pact, the French views on the second question were only partially accepted. The principle limiting controls only to certain types of armaments was adopted, while the problem of pooling war production was deferred for subsequent consideration. In a special memorandum, Mendes-France proposed the creation of a special organ which would unite the production of armaments and equipment of the Union countries, and directly receive and distribute American military aid, which was granted on a bilateral basis so far. However the participants at the conference refused to give their immediate consent to the French project, and called for a more detailed study of the question, while the USA contended that they cannot abandon the bilateral system of granting aid, but nevertheless agreed to inform the Brussels Pact as to the modalities of this aid.

The documents of the Paris Agreements of October 23, 1954 also include two protocols which refer to armament control and the creation of a control agency.

This protocol contains two lists of armaments. The first covers in fact those types of weapons which will not be produced by the Federal Republic, i.e. ABC weapons (atomic, bacteriological and chemical), guided missiles, heavy long range bombers, and warships of a certain tonnage. However, a two third majority in the Council of the Union can sanction the production of all types of weapons (except ABC) in the Federal Republic. It is interesting to note that these restrictions bind the Federal Republic not to produce certain types of weapons on its territory, which, however, does not preclude its participation in the production of those types of armaments on the territory of other countries.

The second list determined the types of weapons whose production is subject to controls only valid on the European continent, which means that Great Britain is exempt from these restrictions. The second list can only be changed by unanimous vote in the Union Council.

The Council of the Union will therefore establish a special agency for armament control, the status of which is regulated by a protocol. The Agency is headed by a director appointed for a five year period by unanimous vote of the Council. The Agency will ensure the fulfilment of the obligations regarding the ban on certain types of armament and the control of armament stockpiles of those types determined by the protocol which exist in every member country on the European continent.

The Agency discharges these functions by studying the reports submitted by the respective Governments and by inspecting forces and depots. In case forces and depots belonging to the NATO are in question, the Agency is not entitled to exert direct control and will receive information from the Supreme Command of the NATO forces instead. Control is limited only to finished products and vital elements and does not cover the entire production process. The products and materials intended for the civilian sector are not subject to control.

The Agency must immediately submit a report to the Union Council in case its findings include: a) the production of certain types of armaments the production of which has been banned; b) the existence of armament stockpiles which exceed the fixed maximum. In this case the Union Council will take the necessary decisions according to a procedure which it will establish itself, while the decision to apply the respective Article of the Protocol (Art. 20) will be made by a majority of votes. The obvious aim of this provision is to avoid the prevention of sanctions by the possible veto of one of the member Governments.

It was decided by a special resolution on the production and standardization of armaments that a working group consisting of Government representatives of the Union members should convene in Paris on January 17, 1955 with the task of studying a „project on directives” (i.e. the French proposal) as well as other documents which might be submitted, for the purpose of drafting proposals to the Union Council when the latter is formed. However, the French government has not abandoned its plan regarding the creation of a supranational European armaments pool. In view of the objections and criticism voiced at the London conference, the French Government prepared a new proposal which it made known to the other member Governments of the Western European Union countries and the USA.



The new project provides for the creation of an Agency for the production of armaments, whose competence would include standardization, the drafting of joint production programmes, the allocation of orders, the fulfilment of the programme, and the coordination of investments for the purpose of developing production capacities.

The project further provides that no expansion of the existing production capacities can be realized without previous authorisation. As for US military aid, the Agency would conclude corresponding agreements with the US government. The novel feature of the project is that it foresees two periods: the first, which would represent a phase of transition, followed by the establishment of a definite regime in the second.

Two committees would be formed in the first phase: a military committee for standardization and a committee for armament production. These committees would be composed of government representatives who would make their decisions according to the principle of unanimity. However the agreements on specific questions would not necessarily include all the members of the Agency and could be limited to only a few. This results obviously from the wish to preclude the possibility of a member country impeding progress in standardization and the organisation of joint production.

The temporary regime would cease on December 31, 1956, when it would be replaced by a permanent regime in which the Agency would carry out its functions to a full extent. The Agency would be headed by a permanent committee with a Director, or a body similar to the High Authority of the Coal and Steel Pool. The inauguration of the Permanent Authority would abolish the principle of unanimity, and decisions would be made by a two third majority. The Agency would thus gradually integrate the armament industries of its member countries on a supranational basis, concentrating all armament programmes and orders for war materials.

The reaction to the modified French proposal in the member countries of the Union was all but favourable. Most comments at first advocated the rejection of the basic ideas of the French plan, and criticism was focussed on the supra-national character of the Agency contemplated. However, it was also necessary to bear in mind that the French wishes cannot be simply ignored, in view of the fact that the ratification of the Paris agreements is still pending. Apart from this, the French proposal contained positive elements which could be used for supplementing the system of armaments control and preventing the accu-

mulation of excess potential in the armaments industry of any individual country which would constitute a threat to the security of others.

The objections to the proposal on the creation of an Agency with such broad powers were varied and numerous. The British, in general, seem particularly adverse to any supranational organisation of war production whatever, which would determine the development and capacity of the British war industry, especially the air industry. It would seem that the British Government is unlikely to consent to anything more than standardization and a certain coordination of the armament programmes, since it wishes to retain full freedom of decision and action in each concrete case.

The West German Government reacted most vigorously in the beginning, but subsequently made certain concessions during the Adenauer—Mendes-France talks in Baden-Baden, agreeing in principle to standardization of war material, joint production of some types of weapons, and coordination of armament plans. However it resolutely rejected directed production in the form of a supranational institution, particularly in the field of production and equipment, considering that the armaments industry should develop on the basis of free competition between private manufacturers, which doubtless suits the interests of the German industrialists, who wish that future armament should, also, inter alia, enable the maintenance of the present boom in German economy.

The Benelux countries have already voiced their misgivings lest the armament pool become the exclusive property of the big powers which would threaten their national industries. They oppose the proposal that their supplies must derive exclusively from the member countries of the Union, instead of choosing the most favourable offers.

As can be seen, the French proposal touches an extremely sensitive problem where opposite tendencies and ambitions of the Union partners are intricately intermingled, as the latter are not inclined to renounce their specific national, economic and political interests to the extent required by the full adoption of the French plan and its principles. It is therefore hard to expect that more than a compromise will be reached on the questions of standardization, rationalization and coordination of armament programmes, which can also enable progress to be made towards mutual armament control. However, agreement in this field doubtless depends primarily on the fate of the Paris Agreements.



# PARLIAMENTARY LIFE

Norbert VEBER

## ADVANTAGES OF THE NEW SALARY REGULATIONS

ONE of the major shortcomings of our previous salary regulations consisted in their non-stimulative effect on the increase of labour productivity. The system of reference salaries prevented the remuneration of workers and employees above a fixed maximum or, to be more precise, this system provided for severe taxation of the wage bill in excess of fixed levels. As a consequence the workers were deprived of any incentive to increase production over certain levels.

Beside, this system established certain relations between the earnings of individual categories of workers and employees, thus acting as a leveller in our remuneration system. This particularly applied to enterprises with a large number of highly skilled workers who have no use for unskilled labour and employees.

The principal objective of the reference salaries was to insure an equilibrium between commodity supply and monetary circulation. However, owing to the deficiencies mentioned above, a new way of forming wage and salary funds had to be sought.

The forming of salary funds (wage bills) according to the new salary regulations and the abolishment of reference salaries as an instrument of limiting the salary funds of a working collective, doubtless represents a radical progress in the regulation of our remuneration system. This, of course, does not imply that all problems in this field have been solved by the new remuneration system. Their most important feature is that they will exert a direct influence on the increase of labour productivity by allowing full remuneration of workers and employees, for greater labour productivity, particularly in the case of those workers who work according to production quotas and norms.

According to the new regulations, people's committees as well as district and local Trade Union councils will henceforward be in a position to take a far more active part in shaping the remuneration policy so as to suit the individual districts and cities. The people's committees have been authorised to raise or reduce the 1954 reference salaries by 5%, this level having been taken as the basis for the elaboration of wage regulations. This will permit a substantial if not final improvement, within the limits of the respective district or city, of the previous discrepancies in the remuneration rates between the individual working posts with different working conditions. The people's committee will of course not grant a 5% increase indiscriminately to all enterprises on its territory, and will only do so in places where the wage bill which serves as a basis for the drafting of salary levels should be increased. This will also enable the different enterprises to ensure higher salaries for needed highly skilled technicians.

The people's committees can also benefit by the rights deriving from Art. 46 of the Rules on the distribution of total income of economic organisations. This will permit the introduction of a system of premiums and allowances for workers and employees at those working posts where economy in raw materials and fuel can be achieved, or where

a better organisation of the production process, or work in general may result in more rational ways of production.

The people's committees are also in a position to enable higher or lower earnings of the workers and employees of an individual establishment by determining the share of profits which will be allotted to the wage bill.

Thus most functions relating to remuneration policy will be discharged by the people's committees: however correct proportions will have to be established in that respect between the individual branches within the country as a whole.

The Trade Unions are thus faced by extensive tasks. The Trade Union committees of the republic will assist the people's committees as well as the district and local trade union councils in the determination of the height and ratio of salary levels, both between the individual categories of workers and employees, and between the individual branches of activity and economy, by examining jointly the salary levels of individual larger enterprises.

The importance of the salary regulations as an instrument in the relationship between the working collectives and the social community has been notably enhanced in the new system. These regulations ceased to be a mere means for the determination of the internal relations in remuneration rates within the collective, and became an instrument through which the salary levels for the individual working posts are recognized by the community. According to the new regulations, the social community recognizes the fact that the remuneration rates for each working post for which consent has been given becomes part of the production costs of the collective. This necessitates far greater attention to be devoted to the drafting of the salary regulations than was the case so far.

According to the new system these regulations represent an agreement between the workers' council, people's committee and trade unions on the respective levels of salaries, and the mutual relations between the individual working posts and collectives taking in account the necessary qualifications, skill, as well as the working conditions and other elements which can influence their volume. This however, does not reduce the significance and role of the working collectives and the Trade Union branches of the individual enterprises in the elaboration of the salary regulations. The correct relations of salary levels for the individual working posts within the working collectives are primarily a matter concerning the collective themselves. Therefore the working collectives as well as the Trade Union branches should strive to provide already in the draft regulations for the most correct relations and solution of all problems which should be correctly approached and solved in accordance with the extant regulations.

Particular care should be devoted to the problem of norms and production quotas in the elaboration of the 1955 salary regulations. The elaboration of the regulations governing production norms which must be in accordance with the salary regulations is also provided for. The responsibility for the former is borne by the director, which



does not mean, however, that the Workers' Councils and Trade Union organisations in the enterprise should not strive for the establishment of correct norms and production quotas. The director is also directly responsible to the social community for the prevention of illegal practices, while it is in the interest of the working personnel as a whole that the norms and production quotas be correctly determined. An unrealistic approach to the norms and production quotas would result in unjustified earnings of the workers working under such quotas, in comparison to the other workers and at their expense. Unrealistic norms can also impair the correct salary relations between the individual categories of workers and employees, and are of major significance for the implementation of the basic principle of remuneration policy: to everyone according to his work.

It is therefore extremely important that average norms be set in each individual enterprise at the very beginning, taking as the starting point the level of productivity achieved, all the more so as many working collectives still lack the technical norms which would enable them to precisely set the real norms and production quotas for individual products. We must therefore refer to the practical experience norms in those cases where the technical norms are lacking and base our estimates on the average level of productivity. The importance of realistic norms and quotas under the present conditions, in view of the comparatively low level of labour productivity and the lack of goods on the market, by far transcends the limits of individual enterprises. If we fail to devote sufficient attention to the question of norms and quotas from the very beginning, and eliminate unreal norms, namely revise the unjustified over-fulfilment of quotas, we run the risk of heavily overdrawing our aggregate salary funds, thus also causing distortions in the relation between goods supply and monetary circulation. This could also give rise to political problems in individual collectives and localities.

The problem of quotas imposes a whole series of questions which require correct solutions as, for instance, the correct level of norms and their revision, the term of revision, the increase of wages and salaries after the revision of norms and quotas (in case labour productivity is increased by the over-fulfilment of norms and quotas), etc. This will give rise to major problems which will require the efforts of Trade Unions in conjunction with the commissions for the determination of salaries, which will be formed according to new regulations, and strive to insure correct solutions in cooperation with the organs of authority.

The possibility of awarding premiums for the economy of material and a more rational production process, will also be an incentive for the workers and employees, particularly the managing personnel of the individual departments and plants, experts and others, on whom the correct and cheap production is the most contingent.

The correct solution of these problems must doubtless lead to an increase of productivity not only within the individual enterprises, but in our economy as a whole. The new remuneration system will enable the workers and employees to earn higher incomes. However these increased earnings will be a result of higher productivity, which means that there will be more goods on the market. The large salary funds will be counterbalanced by commodity funds which will stem from increased productivity. Due to the lack of interest of workers for higher productivity, the previous increases of salaries and salary funds were mainly a result of higher market prices. Thus the increase of nominal salaries was offset by the decline of real salaries. As distinct from this, the salary increase achieved by the promotion of labour productivity is not only an increase of nominal salaries, but must also involve an increase of the real salaries and consequently an over-all improvement of the standard of living of our working people.

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# ART AND CRITICISM

Marko FOTEZ

## The Sixth Dubrovnik Summer Festival in 1955

UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF THE PRESIDENT OF REPUBLIC, MARSHAL TITO

THE attempts to organize Summer Festivals in Dubrovnik every year date back to the period before the first World War. Several sporadic attempts were made, one of which consisted of a programme of concerts on the occasion of the celebration of the 25th anniversary of artistic activity of the well known Yugoslav violinist, Zlatko Baloković, and was called „The First Dubrovnik Festival”. A similar festival — this time including scenic performances, above all „Dundo Maroje”, a play by the Yugoslav classic comedy writer Marin Držić (1508—1567) — had been announced for the period July 1—5, 1939 still it was not realized, like many other cultural plans in the pre-war Yugoslavia. Notwithstanding periodic performances by the theatres of Zagreb, Split, and, after the liberation, of Zadar, and notwithstanding that unforgettable performance of „Dubravka”, a play by another great Yugoslav classic author, Ivan Gundulić (1589—1638), which had been performed before the Rector's Palace at Dubrovnik, on the occasion of the World Congress of Pen-Club in 1930 — the unsurpassable natural and architectural scenic spaces of Dubrovnik remained empty and no use was made of them, while all the endeavours to enliven them by musical and scenic manifestations failed on account of the negligence and the lack of understanding of the then education authorities. It is a historical fact that it is the new people's government in the socialist Yugoslavia which has been willing to provide the necessary means to develop a more intense cultural life in Dubrovnik, especially during the summer season for which this town has been just predestined by its great tradition and its inexhaustible possibilities.

This new intense and fruitful cultural activity has been reflected also in the organization of the 1950 Dubrovnik Festival, which marks the First Dubrovnik Summer Festival. Morally, that Festival was a success, and it is on its basis that the Dubrovnik Summer Festival started developing in the only wholesome and effective way, that is from below, imbued with both Dubrovnik tradition and present. Its development is evidenced by statistical data. In the last 5 years all the data characteristic of such an undertaking steadily developed. The number of plays increased from 4 to 9, the number of performances from 16 to 90, the number of stages from 4 to 11, and the number of spectators from 10.000 to 50.000, including 24.000 foreigners, mainly from Britain, Germany, Denmark, Austria, Sweden and France.

As for its physionomy, the Dubrovnik Summer Festival has been marked by certain features characteristic of the place it occupies among other world Festivals. First of all, its duration: as a rule, the Dubrovnik Summer Festival lasts from July 1 to September 15. This unusual duration is favoured by the capacity of the Dubrovnik tourist season, Being a world-famed Yugoslav tourist centre Dubrovnik is crowded all Summer with tourists from the country and from abroad, who have to be given an opportunity to become acquainted with Yugoslav contemporary theatrical culture. In this respect, this Festival has already become

the most significant Yugoslav artistic manifestation during the Summer, which has a strong effect on our public and meets with an extraordinary echo abroad.

Another characteristic of the Dubrovnik Summer Festival is the peculiarity of the stages where the performances take place: all the performances take place on natural stages, in parks, or squares, before palaces and churches, on the terraces of palaces — without any wings or other scenic conventions (except the ballets which must be performed in the Summer theater). This peculiarity influences the repertory: the Dubrovnik Summer Festival is



A medieval Dubrovnik stage

the type of festival which has arisen out of the soil, from the ambience, from the cultural and historical tradition — so that its basis consists of performances of the plays of classical writers of Dubrovnik, while only those plays of foreign authors are being performed there which harmonize with both the natural and architectural scenic spaces of Dubrovnik and which come thus to bear the mark of the „originality” of Dubrovnik.

Lastly we could stress the third particularity of the Dubrovnik Summer Festival, that is, the number of both the performances and the performers: during the two and a half months of the season there are every evening one, two or even three performances, including every kind of musical or scenic art: drama, opera, ballet, symphonic music, chamber-music — and vocal concert, as well as folk-dances. The Dubrovnik Summer Festival has thus become a true great representative Summer theatre, attended by the most international public in Yugoslavia.

All these peculiarities will be reflected also in the Sixth Summer Festival which will be organized for the first time under the high patronage of the President of the Republic, Marshal Tito. Its solemn inauguration on June 25 coincides with the opening of the World Congress of the Theater which will be in session from June 25 to June 30. While the Congress is in session, the Dubrovnik Summer Festival



will give its representative performances: Shakespeare's „Hamlet“, Goethe's „Iphigenia“ and the little drama of the Yugoslav dramatist Ivo Vojnović (1857—1929) „On the Terrace“. The ballet of the Belgrade Opera will perform the Yugoslav ballets „The Chalk-circle“ and „Gingerbread“ by Krešimir Baranović and the Belgrade Philharmonic will give a solemn concert.

The dramatic repertoire for the 1955 season includes the following plays: Marin Držić comedies „The Fooled Stanac“, „Tirena“, before the Sponza House, produced by Dr. Marko Fotez; „Dundo Maroje“ (at Gundulić Square, performed by the Yugoslav Dramatic Theatre of Belgrade, and produced by Bojan Stupica) as well as the above-mentioned drama of Ivo Vojnović „On the Terrace“ (on the terrace of Gundulić Palace at Gruž, produced by Dr. Branko Gavella). Beside „Hamlet“ (at the fortress of Lovrijenac, produced by Dr. Marko Fotez) and „Iphigenia“ (in Gradac Park, produced by Dr. Branko Gavella), other world classical plays will be performed, such as Shakespeare's „A Midsummer-Night's Dream“ (in Gradac Park, produced by Dr. Marko Fotez) and Corneille's „The Cid“ (at the fortress of Revelin, produced by Dr. Branko Gavella).

The Slovenian Opera of Ljubljana will perform Mozart's opera „Don Giovanni“ (before the Sponza House) and „The Four Ruffians“ by E. Wolf Ferrari (at Bunić Square); the Belgrade Ballet Company will perform, beside the above mentioned ballets, the Yugoslav ballet „The Legend of Ohrid“, by Stevan Hristić, „Romeo and Juliet“, by Sergei Prokofiev and „Swan Lake“, by Peter Ilich Tchaikovsky (all of them at the Summer Theatre). The opera of the Croatian National Theatre of Zagreb will perform Benjamin Britten's opera „Lucretia“. These musical and scenic performances will be conducted by Oskar Danon, Stevan Hristić, Dušan Miladinović, and produced by Vladimir Habunek, and Hinko Leskošek.

Concerts will be given by the Slovenian Philharmonic of Ljubljana (conducted by Samo Hubad and Lovro Matačić), the Belgrade Philharmonic (conducted by Krešimir Baranović and Zivojin Zdravković), the Chamber Music-Orchestra of the Zagreb Broadcasting Company and the Group of Zagreb Soloists headed by Antonio Janigro, as well as the Dubrovnik City Orchestra conducted by Karlo M. Mizerit. The orchestra and the chorus of the Central Home of the Yugoslav Army of Belgrade will perform Haendel's oratorio „Messiah“ and Mozart's „Requiem“, conducted by Slobodan Krstić. Many well known Yugoslav instrumental and vocal soloists will take part in these concerts, and some world-famed virtuosos are also slated for individual concerts (Claudio Arrau, the Barili Quartet) among whom also the Yugoslav artists who now live in the USA, violinist Zlatko Baloković, and the prima donna of the Metropolitan opera Zinka Milanov.

The three best Yugoslav folk-dance groups: Lado from Croatia, Kolo from Serbia and Tanec from Macedonia, will sing and dance during the evenings devoted to Yugoslav folk-dancing, which has already acquired an international fame. During the Festival there will be constantly open the exhibition of the Yugoslav Theatrical Art, of the Yugoslav contemporary Painting and Sculpture, and of Ancient Dubrovnik Books.

In this imposing programme of which we only gave an outline about one thousand of performers, among whom the most renowned personalities of Yugoslav dramatic and musical arts and movies (Marija Crnobori, Mira Stupica, Irena Kolesar, Veljko Maričić, Ljubiša Jovanović, Emil Kutijaro, Viktor Starčić, Jozo Laurenčić, Milan Ajvaz, Tonko Lonza, Milan Puzić, and others) will take part in more than a hundred performances. Owing to the efforts of all these performers — backed by the Yugoslav Education authorities both by federal and the Republican, and by those of the city of Dubrovnik — the Dubrovnik Summer Festival is in the process of developing from a European Festival to that of a universal significance. This process is evident in the commentaries of the European press which is dealing more and more with the Dubrovnik Summer Festival.

The performance of the Dubrovnik Summer Festival which has been most impressive and has met with the greatest success is the performance of Shakespeare's „Hamlet“ at the fortress of Lovrijenac. At the time when Saxo

Grammaticus mentioned for the first time in his legends „Historia danorum regum heroumque“ at the end of the 12th century, the name of „Amleth“, son of the mighty duke Horvendil of Yutland, the people of Dubrovnik erected the fortress of Lovrijenac. This fortress, which was for centuries a mighty protector of the freedom of the Republic of Dubrovnik in its struggle against Venice and the Turks, was given its present form in the time of Shakespeare: a mediaeval fortress erected upon a rock, 30 meters above the sea-level, with terraces, esplanades and vaults which seem to be haunted by the message of the ghost of Hamlet's father, where the stone itself is radiating with Hamlet's thoughts, and the battlements seem to re-echo the flourish and cannon-shots, and the banners to be waiting for the flags of Fortinbras. In 1952, at that unique place in Dubrovnik, „Hamlet“ was performed for the first time, and two years later the American periodical „Shakespeare Quarterly“ greeted that performance and made it known to the world. In the Swedish newspaper „Arbetet“ (14. 2. 1953), Kjel Renelind has described that performance as „ingenious“, while Juliet Dekre has written a detailed study in the English periodical „Theatre World“ on managerial conception and interpretations given by the actors. The president of the English Labour Party, Clement Attlee, declared that performance was one of the best performances of „Hamlet“ he ever saw.

It is now traditional to have „Hamlet“ performed every Summer ten times, before an international public which starts reserving their admission-tickets already in the beginning of Spring. As counterparts to the attractive power of this performance, there are performances of „A Midsummer-Night's Dream“ and of Goethe's „Iphigenia“, while the performances of the plays of the classical writers of Dubrovnik, Držić and Vojnović, are impressive on account of the fact that they were created and performed long ago at the same place where they are given now, after centuries, and shine with the beauty and joy of living of the Renaissance as well as with a fervour of artistic creation in modern Yugoslavia.

Concerts are also performed at historical places: in the atrium and halls of the Rector's Palace, before the Baroque Jesuitical Church, in St. Clara's Convent, on the terrace of Banac House. The whole of Dubrovnik is changed into a single stage of which the French writer Armand Salacrou said: „I travelled everywhere in the world, but still I can frankly say that Dubrovnik has been not only a discovery for me but also a true revelation. Nowhere did I see such a harmonious unity of natural beauty and historical monuments which have been erected on a relatively small, still ideally situated place which is speaking to the travellers of the rich culture of the ancient Republic of Dubrovnik“. G. B. Shaw, H. G. Wells, Jules Romain have also been impressed in a similar way by Dubrovnik, while the Dubrovnik Summer Festival reckons among its enthusiastic visitors such personalities as Eleanor Roosevelt, Adlai Stevenson, Sir Anthony Eden, Ernest Bevan and others.

The significance of the Dubrovnik Summer Festival has been particularly felt and expressed by two prominent Yugoslav men of letters. The vice-president of ITI, Milan Bogdanović, has declared: „The Dubrovnik Summer Festival is expected to reach a level which will make it equal to the most beautiful manifestations of this kind we can see in the world at large“, while the president of the Yugoslav Committee for Foreign Cultural Relations Marko Ristić, has written: „The Summer Festival enriches the beauty of Dubrovnik, it gives a new aspect to the city, a new value, a new sense, it makes it alive. The Summer Festival is a new form of approaching Dubrovnik and its beauty which has been harmonized by centuries, it is an evocation of the rich culture of the past, a living combination of the past and the creative present... Music, poetry and painting come to be harmonized with a city which is speaking itself in the language of art, culture and harmony with natural beauty, in a language which finds an echo in all those who do not lack sensibility to the treasures by which man adorns the world with his consciousness and his desire, in a language which must evoke associations which give life its value and beauty. One must acknowledge that owing to the Summer Festival these associations, memories and hopes are becoming more and more rich and precious.“



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